

Exhibit 22



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BODY:

Like a Napoleonic general, Marwan Barghouti surveyed the battlefield from a shady spot on a rise, just out of rifle range of Israeli soldiers.

Surrounded by aides, retainers and a corpulent officer fidgeting with an AK-47 assault rifle, Barghouti--Yasser Arafat's top political lieutenant in the West Bank--monitored his men, the Palestinian stone-throwers doing battle with Israeli troops at a road junction 400 yards down the road.

"There is no cease-fire!" he snapped into his cell phone as an ambulance bearing the latest Palestinian casualty raced up the hill, its siren screaming. "Screw the cease-fire!"

If the Palestinians have a field marshal in the riots that have consumed the West Bank for the last five days, it is Barghouti. A veteran activist who has spent time in Israeli jails and leads Arafat's Fatah organization in the West Bank, Barghouti also functions as leader of the Palestinians' loose-knit paramilitary forces.

There is evidence to support the claim by Israelis that the Palestinian leadership has orchestrated the militia, as well as civilians and armed Palestinian police, in the rioting--which has killed an estimated 58 people, including five in renewed clashes today in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and Israel proper. The evidence includes Barghouti's own

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actions to coordinate and motivate his people to confront the Israelis.

But a subtler interplay of forces is also at work, according to interviews with a variety of Palestinians, including armed combatants and officials. There is growing concern that Arafat may have lost control of the militia, the thousands-strong shock troops of the Palestinian street army, as well as of thousands of stone-throwing youths who have joined the violence.

Palestinian police under Arafat's command have tried in vain on a number of occasions to stop young stone-throwers from attacking Israeli soldiers--although on other occasions they have joined in. Many analysts believe the mounting toll of Palestinian casualties, and the resulting high emotions, are fueling a dangerous, self-perpetuating pattern of funerals, fighting and bloodshed that may be difficult to stop.

"Maybe [Arafat] can stop it," said Barghouti, 40. "But he has to offer something to the people; he has to say what he has achieved. It is not easy for him."

Mustafa Barghouti, a distant relative of Marwan's who is president of the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees, said: "This is a public uprising. Arafat can control the police. But it's not a fight between the police and the [Israeli] army. It's the people who are fighting now, and emotions are very strong."

That dynamic evidently contributed to the collapse of a cease-fire that Israeli and Palestinian security officials had worked out overnight, only to see it shattered by new clashes in the West Bank and Gaza. In five days of clashes, the death toll stands at 45 Palestinians, 10 Israeli Arabs and three Israeli Jews, including two soldiers and a civilian.

Arafat and the Israeli leader, Prime Minister Ehud Barak, have agreed to meet with Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright on Wednesday in Paris, and then again Thursday with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak at Sharm al-Sheik on the tip of the Sinai Peninsula, in an effort to halt the violence.

But with so much blood having flowed, the atmosphere is not propitious. Lt. Gen. Moshe Yalon, the Israeli army chief of staff, said there is no reason to expect the fighting to ebb. "The peak is still ahead of us," he said. "This wave of violence will continue."

An Israeli helicopter gunship in Gaza today fired a rocket at an apartment building overlooking an Israeli army outpost, killing four Palestinians. This evening, Israeli television broadcast images of a young man holding up bloody body parts of one of the dead, screaming in the direction of television cameras.

Fighting was also fierce in the northern West Bank city of Nablus, around the tomb of Joseph, the Biblical patriarch. And in Ramallah, too, where Marwan Barghouti followed the action, Palestinian stone-throwers clashed with Israeli troops at a traffic circle on the edge of town.

The rioting began when Barghouti arrived.

Earlier in the afternoon he had delivered a hoarse-throated eulogy at the funeral of a teenager killed in Monday's fighting, riling the crowd. "We'll close all the roads and stop all the peace talks!" cried Barghouti. "Don't use Israeli products; don't work in Israeli factories! The fighting is going to continue everywhere, I swear to God!"

Then, from the funeral, Barghouti accompanied hundreds of mourners to the junction, where they clashed with Israeli soldiers. According to Barghouti, Palestinian police tried half-heartedly to stop the crowd from reaching the junction, to no avail.

Short, amiable and animated, switching easily from Arabic to English or Hebrew, Barghouti insisted he did not so much lead the charge on the Israelis as go with the flow of outrage. Yet he also said he considers the last seven years of peace talks with Israel to have been fruitless and that it is time for Palestinians to take matters into their own hands.

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"If I told the people khalas, they would not listen," he said, using the Arabic word for stop. "It's not a question of orders. This is a tradition, a national spirit. If the Israelis withdraw from checkpoints, say they'll comply with agreements, release some prisoners and understand the Palestinian viewpoint on Jerusalem, then fine. But the Palestinian leadership has to change the Israelis' minds and the rules of the game."

As Barghouti and other Palestinians tell it, the rioting started after the Israeli right-wing opposition leader, Ariel Sharon, led a band of hawkish legislators Thursday on a visit to a Jerusalem holy site sacred to Jews and Muslims. The elevated platform, known to Jews as the Temple Mount and to Arabs as the Noble Sanctuary, is the site of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa mosques, the third-most sacred site in Islam.

Muslims saw the visit by Sharon--accompanied by 1,000 edgy policemen--as a provocation, and they pleaded with Israeli authorities to cancel it. Adnan Husseini, chairman of the Islamic Trust, which administers the sacred site, met with Jerusalem police chief Yair Yitzhaki the day before Sharon's visit to warn of the consequences.

"I told him what could happen," Husseini said in an interview. "I said al-Aqsa is [an inviolable] red line and nobody can say when the problems will end once they start. He said, 'It's out of my hands. This decision has been taken.' "

The next day, immediately following Sharon's visit, Muslims in the sanctuary erupted in riots. On Friday, several thousand Muslims were at al-Aqsa mosque for the weekly Friday prayers, and the strongly anti-Sharon sermon by the mosque's preacher suggested that Muslims "eradicate the Jews from Palestine."

"Should we respond [to Sharon's visit] only by throwing stones, or [only] by condemnation?" he said.

In an angry mood, the worshipers emerged from the mosque and threw stones at Israeli police on the mount. Witnesses said piles of stones had been prepared as ammunition, although it is not clear when or by whom. Under a barrage of hurled rocks, Israeli police opened fire almost immediately, spattering the sanctuary's paving stones with blood. Some worshipers, including elderly men, were hit by Israeli bullets even before they had emerged from the mosque.

Barghouti had been present, along with Tawfiq Tirawi, the top Palestinian intelligence official for the West Bank, when Sharon visited the site, and Israeli officials say the two planned the violence that erupted Friday. Barghouti denies it, and Tirawi could not be reached for comment. But by Friday evening, Barghouti had drafted a statement calling for a general uprising, faxed it to Fatah offices around the West Bank and convened a meeting of his militia leaders at his office in al-Bireh, adjacent to Ramallah.

He was also on the phone with Palestinian television and radio stations. By Saturday morning, when the riots began in earnest, airwaves throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip carried archival footage from the intifada, the Palestinian uprising of the late-1980s and early '90s, and played militant songs urging Palestinians to rise up and take to the streets.

"It wasn't about issuing orders," Barghouti said. "It's a tradition here." But he added: "We have our organization, and we can call on our people in every city and district."

Barghouti said he has spoken with Arafat nearly every day since the outbreak of violence and that the Palestinian leader, who provides funding for the militia, has not issued direct instructions to attack Israeli positions. Independent analysts here, as well as some Israeli army officers, suspect that Arafat may not be able exercise complete control over Barghouti, the militia or the stone-throwing teenagers in the streets.

"The orders don't come from us, they come from the Israeli soldiers themselves," said Ibrahim Abu Ein, a high-ranking militia official who reports to Barghouti. "When you see them shooting a small Palestinian child, that is the order. . . . No one can tell us to stop."

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